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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred.

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcągara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *ɛ́ɛnąk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *hɛ́ɛnąk*, "turtle," and *cra'ɛ́ɛnąk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tašk*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin.

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it.

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 180 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food.

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 6, no. 3, November, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 93.

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What the Converts Introduced

794 177 It is quite impossible to establish now what these converts introduced individually. For that matter it is not necessary to assume that they brought any specific additions to the cult. What they did bring were Winnebago; and with that, the emotional and cultural setting of the old pagan background. To one, the eating of the peyote gave the same magical powers that were formerly associated with membership in the medicine dance; to another, the visions were direct blessings from God, directing him to perform certain actions; to a third, faithfulness to the teachings of the Peyote cult became associated with a certainty of reaching God, of being able to take the right road in the journey to the spirit land. Even a man so thoroughly saturated with Christian doctrines as Hensley himself felt it necessary to introduce an origin myth; and although we know that he borrowed it from a southern tribe, it is quite clear that in Hensley's narrative it has already assumed all the characteristics of a Winnebago fasting experience and ritualistic myth, similar to those connected with the founders of the old Winnebago cult societies. In its totality the atmosphere of the Peyote cult became thus charged with the old Winnebago background. In 1911 it can not be said that they had displaced the distinctive Christian elements. Among the younger members, especially those who had been trained in the east and could read and write English, the influence of the Christian ideas in the interpretation of the old pagan features is, as was pointed out before, so strong to-day that it threatens to displace the others.

The following homily will show how the old myths were used by the younger Peyote members to point a tale.

794 773 The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coon-skin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere, and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds.

[181 829] So do we Winnebagoes act. We dance and make a lot of noise, but in the end, we accomplish nothing.

Once, as the Trickster was going toward a creek, he saw a man standing on the other side, dressed in a black suit, and pointing his finger at him. He spoke to the man but the latter would not answer. Then he spoke again and again, but without receiving any reply. Finally he got angry and said, "See here! I can do that too." He put on the black coat and pointed his finger across the creek. Thus both of them stood all day. Toward evening, when he looked around again, he noticed that the man across the creek, pointing his finger at him, was really just a tree stump. "O my! what have I been doing all

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

the north, then one at the west and one at the south. Then *Hare* took his own seat. 539 776

Now the various spirits who had been invited began to enter. Then came the human beings, those of the bird clan, of the bear clan, the wolf clan, the snake clan, etc. Last came the one they were to initiate.

Then *Hare* rose and spoke, "My friends, I have had you come together because my uncles and aunts had been living a very pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which is to be handed down from one generation to the other. That is what I ask of you. You have now heard what it is I want. I leave everything else to be done and said by those in the east."

Then the one in the east seat arose and said, "We are to teach our friends, the uncles and aunts of *Hare*, the meaning of life. This they may hand down from generation to generation. To-day for the first time has this thing been discussed. All that life consists of—wealth, honor and happiness—they shall have from now on." The other three spirits, the one in the north, the west, and the south, all said the same thing. When they finished each one returned to his own seat. [181]

Now *Hare* got up again and said, "This is what I desired for my uncles and aunts. This lodge I made for them and as long as they follow the precepts taught in this lodge of creation, they will be invulnerable. For that reason have these seats been made for them, that whosoever so desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught the one who was to be initiated and when the sun was on the treetops and when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed. As they left they took with them half of the light that had been radiated in the lodge. As they went out they rubbed against the door-

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182 FUNCTION--internal cultural consistency or its lack; allegations of integration or disintegration; adjustments of parts of the culture to one another; relation of cultural forms to biological and social needs and to physical environment; etc. See also:

Integrative process in culture change . . . 178 Functional integration of kinship systems. . . 691

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of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Tciju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Tciju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *huŋk* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manaŋ'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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shown by the very word for clan (*hokil'aradjera*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and between the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'ara*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason at all is assigned. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a very general but a very definite notion, and may be said to extend not beyond four generations, in fact not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual. This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

(F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1.
(F) Bear—Eagle (M) 2.
(F) Eagle—Wolf (M) 3.
(F) Wolf—Thunderbird (M) 4.
(M) Thunderbird—Bear (F) 5.

or:

(F) Thunderbird—Bear (M) 1.
(M) Bear—Eagle (F) 2.
(M) Bear—Thunderbird (F) 3.

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second, a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-unit is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

CLAN FUNCTIONS

The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon in most cultures where a tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connection, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the

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political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is of no great import here. Among the Winnebago, for instance, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that the office of public crier was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented, on the one hand, a restriction of the number of individuals, and on the other hand, the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing it. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from functions of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. Similarly the functions of the Thunderbird clan do not lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over the other types of association, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit.

Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions the details of which are discussed elsewhere. The Thunderbird, the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan has functions connected with war; the Bear clan, those relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, those relating to the office of public crier and intermediary between the

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chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus the Wolf people are regarded as "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people are connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk are connected with the care of the fireplaces while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found great favor among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favor, while among the Central Algonquian neither type prevailed.

Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are thus the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan social organization and have given an entirely different color to clan structure there.

THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CLANS

We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was the fact of belonging to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*Aitrak'ore*). This always subsists between two, although it seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions. One individual postulated them just on this basis, i. e., Thunderbird-Bear, Warrior-Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird-Warrior; Eagle-Pigeon; Bear-Wolf; Buffalo-Water-spirit; Elk-Deer; Snake-Fish. Most informants did not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associated it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *Waggeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend clan," although some divide them into Thunderbird-Warrior and Eagle-Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions: first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife-borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend clan" is again apparent at the naming-feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

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This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped using these supernatural powers some time ago.[1]

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellowmen as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again.

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit-shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me.

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")? For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[2] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman.

[1] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his feeling, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, tacitly, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as omens of the devil.

[2] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagoes. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of concerning in the individual trying to use the "power," in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagoes accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness.

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As soon as I arrived (in Nebraska) I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters and who said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and they sent for you that you also might eat it. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. Then they told me of some of the bad things it was reported that these people had done. I felt ashamed and I wished I had not come in the first place. Then I said that I was going to eat the medicine. 159 794 276

After that I saw my father, mother, and sister. They were glad. Then we all went to where they were staying. My father and I walked (alone). Then he told me about the peyote eating. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing, although they do stop drinking. It is also said that sick people get well. We were told about this and so we joined, and, sure enough, we are practically well, your mother as well as I. It is said that they offer prayers to Earthmaker (God)," he said. He kept on talking. "They are rather foolish. They cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all of the medicines that they possess and know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting and they give up all the spirits that blessed them in their fasts. They also stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They stop giving feasts, and they stop making offerings of tobacco. Indeed, they burn up their [52] holy things. They burn up their war bundles. They are bad people. They give up the Medicine Dance. They burn up their medicine bags and even cut up their otter-skin bags. They say they are praying to Earthmaker (God) and they do so standing and crying. They claim that they hold nothing holy except Earthmaker (God). They claim that all the things that they are stopping are those of the bad spirit (the devil), and that the bad spirit (the devil) has deceived them; that there are no spirits who can bless; that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker (God)." Then I said, "Say, they certainly speak foolishly." I felt very angry toward them. "You will hear them, for they are going to have a meeting tonight. Their songs are very strange. They use a very small drum," said he. Then I felt a very strong desire to see them.

After a while we arrived. At night they had their ceremony. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I was rather fond of them. I stayed in that country and the young peyote eaters were exceedingly friendly to me. They would give me a little money now and then and they treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good, and in consequence I used to speak as though I liked their ceremony. However, I was only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because (the peyote) was deceiving them.

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794 throughout, both from his own testimony and from that of others,
159 seems to have been practically the attitude of the Winnebago shaman. He even offered tobacco to the peyote.

We have, then, at the beginning the introduction of apparently only one new element—the peyote, with possibly a few Christian [177] teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned there was hardly anything new at all. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that to the Winnebago themselves the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element.

The elaboration of the peyote practices at Rave's hands is the most difficult problem to trace on account of the lack of data. In the account that he gives of his conversion there is no evidence whatsoever of any antagonistic attitude toward the old Winnebago manner of living. When the author met him, however, for the first time, in 1908, this passive attitude had changed to one of violent hatred for the old Winnebago customs. Why and under what circumstances [182] this change took place we do not know. It probably represented the interaction of many elements, the hostility of the tribe, the drawing of issues sharply around certain points, and the gradual [192] assumption on the part of Rave of the rôle of a prophet who had solved the problem of the adjustment of the Winnebago to the surrounding white civilization. Offhand, one might be inclined to believe that Rave's insistence upon breaking with the past was due entirely to the influence of the Christian elements incorporated in his new religion. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such an assumption is necessary. There seem to have been comparatively [177] few Christian elements in the religion before Albert Hensley's influence had made itself felt, yet many of the old war bundles had been destroyed long before that time, and the peyote eaters were looked upon with cordial dislike by the conservative members of the tribe. The admonition that only a complete break with the past could save the Winnebagoes and enable them to compete successfully with the white intruders had been given to the Winnebagoes once before by the famous Shawnee prophet. What the latter claimed, however, was that the various sacred objects used by the Winnebago had lost their power, and that that power must now be renewed. This he [1] thought could only be done by returning to the old manner of living which he claimed the Winnebago were no longer following. Such a claim was, after all, not revolutionary. It is not, therefore, the break with the Winnebago present-day viewpoint that characterizes Rave's attitude, but the fact that instead of returning to the older, purer

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the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as and thus should never be forgotten the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hŏk'ixe'ro dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

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sing-together"; the Osage, the term *pęda*, "fireplace"; and the Winnebago, the term *hokik'a-radjera*, "those-related-to-one-another." The remarks made about the specific names of the twofold divisions apply here. There is no reason for assuming that these names are historically primary. A possible historical hint that they are not will be mentioned later.

The twofold division apparently regulates nothing but marriage. It has at the present time no other function *per se*. Nevertheless, a number of ethnologists, and for that matter Indians themselves, speak of the functions of the two sides. If we consider the Omaha "circle," we notice that practically all the ceremonial functions are on one side; that among the Osage "war" and "peace" functions are found on both sides; and that, as a matter of fact, the functions of war and peace apparently relate to a certain reciprocal relation existing between the two divisions. Indeed, there is no reason to justify the use of these terms. Among the Iowa, J. O. Dorsey quotes Hamilton to the effect that the regulation of the hunt and other tribal affairs was in the hands of one "phratry" during the autumn and winter, and in that of the other in spring and summer. It is, however, doubtful whether this was the case. Among the Winnebago, as we shall see, the functions of war and peace were grouped together on one side, the functions of the other side being confined to those relating to the policing and regulation of the hunt. But the only fact with which we can concern ourselves is not whether there appears a balancing of functions connected with the social organization, but whether the Indian thinks there is; and here the consensus of opinion favours the view that no Omaha, e.g., would for a moment suppose that the *Hangacenu* division as such was the custodian of the real pipes of peace. This belonged to the *Inkesabe* gens, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that it was delegated to that clan by the larger unit. The same reasoning applies to the *Hanga* clan. That the importance of the possessions of the latter clan played an important part in the associations of the Omaha, even to the extent of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons

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may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

Similarly, among the Ponka, the *Wajaje* half corresponds to the *Wajaje* clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the *Tcĭju* and *Hanga* divisions of one side, and the *Wajaje* divisions of the other correspond to clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the *Tcĭju* division of the Ponka. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago, the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hunĕ* or "Chiefs," and to the other as "*manąpe*" or "Soldiers," the latter name for the second phratry, however, not being common.

In short, we have a right to see in all the facts mentioned indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO.

RELATION OF THE PRESENT TO PREVIOUS WINNEBAGO TYPES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally. Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently. That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as departing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs, cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect, in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segregation.

Individual Names.

With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed, a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals are, however, frequently found when the social units have names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation exists between the manner and system of naming and the type of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the other hand, from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

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582 614 602 This will be brought out more clearly by the following tables, based on actual genealogies:

(F) Thunderbird—
(F) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(F) Eagle —Eagle (M) 2
(F) Wolf —Wolf (M) 3
(M) Thunderbird—Thunderbird (M) 4
—Bear (F) 5

or:

(F) Thunderbird—
(M) Bear —Bear (M) 1
(M) Bear —Eagle (F) 2
—Thunderbird (F) 3

All these marriages are permitted. In the first case a man marries into his maternal grandmother's maternal grandfather's clan; and in the second a man marries into his paternal grandmother's clan. We will consequently have to consider blood relationship as extending only to four, sometimes three, generations, and have to regard the statement of blood-relationship as the tie binding the members of the clan together as purely fictitious and secondary. That, nevertheless, this fictitious tie called forth the same feeling as that of real relationship, there is abundant evidence to show, and that it was of considerable importance in the development of the Winnebago clan-complex is borne out by the fact that the clan was called "those-who-are-relatives-to-one-another."

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEX.

Clan Functions.

174 614 182 The association of political functions with definite social units is a common phenomenon for most cultures where a tendency toward socialization exists. It is strictly comparable to the association of ceremonial and religious functions with ceremonial units. In this connexion, the difference between an association with a group unit and an association with an individual, is of fundamental importance. Is the former, for instance, merely an extension of the latter? This only individual

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history can demonstrate. Such a genetic relationship between the two depends probably as much upon the nature of the political function as upon anything else. The exact time when this socialization took place is also of great import here. Among the Winnebago, some individuals claim that the functions of the public crier were inherent in the Buffalo clan, while others insist that any person who had counted coup four times was eligible for the office. Now, in this case not only is it possible but it is extremely probable that public criership was originally connected with an individual, and that subsequently it became associated with the Buffalo clan, probably by reason of a certain relationship existing between this clan and the Chief clan. It must, of course, be remembered that a grouping had already taken place, because the requirement of having counted coup four times made a large number of warriors potentially public criers. (Here the grouping together was due to the successful performance of certain test-acts.) Its association with membership in the Buffalo clan represented on the one hand a restriction of the number of individuals, on the other hand the addition of another qualification. Historically, then, the qualification of membership in the clan supplanted the other qualifications, at least in the eyes of a large number of individuals. What has been said of the development of the functions of the Buffalo may also be generally applied to that of the Warrior or Hawk clan.

Political functions may, however, become connected with a group unit without the individual playing any rôle either in directing or in developing such an association. The functions of preserving peace and of acting as intermediary, that among the Winnebago are connected with the Thunderbird clan, and the police and disciplinary functions connected with the Bear clan, may represent such types of association. In the absence of historical data, no demonstration can be made. It will, however, be shown later that association of ceremonial-religious functions with a social unit has actually occurred. That the police and disciplinary functions of the Bear clan developed from those of individuals, on the basis of requirements similar to those of the public crier, is quite improbable, and no indication of that exists. The functions of the Thunderbird clan likewise do not

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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174 lend themselves readily to such an interpretation. But even
614 should we accept the necessity for the priority of the one over
625 the other types of association, we must still insist that psychologically the functions are in each case associated with a group unit and that we are not dealing with the relation of cause and effect but with a new association.

182 Four of the Winnebago clans have specific political functions,
614 the details of which cannot be discussed here. The Thunderbird is the chief clan, and in addition to the fact that the chief of the tribe is selected from it, has important functions connected with the preservation of peace; the Warrior clan, that relating to war; the Bear clan, that relating to policing and discipline, both within the village and while on the hunt, etc.; and the Buffalo clan, that of public crier and intermediary between the chief and his people. The Wolf, Water-spirit, and the Elk clans seem also to have possessed minor political-social functions. Thus, the Wolf people were considered in the light of "minor" soldiers; the Water-spirit people as connected with the passage of streams, etc.; and the Elk as connected with the care of the fire-places while on the hunt and warpath. This accounts for seven of the twelve clans, and it thus seems as if the association of political functions with clans was a type that had found
[174] great favour among the Winnebago, and was perhaps being
[171] extended to every clan. Among the Dhegiha, associations of ceremonial functions with social units seem to have found corresponding favour, while among the Central Algonkin neither type occurred.

[171] Marked political and ceremonial functions of the clan are the distinguishing characteristics of the Siouan organization and have given an entirely different picture to clan structure there.

The Reciprocal Relationship of the Clans.

614 We have seen that one of the bonds between the clans was
616 the fact that they belonged to the same side. But there is a special bond between certain clans known as "friendship" relation (*hitcak'ɔ'ro*). This always subsists between two, although it

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *waŋgeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *maŋegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *maŋegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *waŋgeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn.

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan.

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found.

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit.

The Specific Possessions of the Clan.

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also

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let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued, he defiantly sings his clan songs.

As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

We have now completed the discussion of clan organization. As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing mention has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha, as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

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as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well."

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies.

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture--there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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[p. 146]

A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

182 796 The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

[177 276 795]

114 796 However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters prepared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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It was during the 1944 cherry season, a period extending from the early part of July to the middle of August, that the bulk of material was collected for this paper. 114

Attitudes Within the Changing Society

Opinions vary of course with Indians, according to the amount of education they have had, their native intelligence, or their personal interests. Furthermore, the contrast in attitudes between the older and the younger generations is a most significant feature. 178 182 561

It would be impossible to put age limits on the terms "older" and "younger," but an age between 45 and 50 seems to be the dividing line. One might also have to add a third classification: those individuals who grew up in the situation of the younger group, but upon reaching greater maturity tend toward the opinions of the older people.

The young people, through contact with the older generation, or by taking part in tourist-trade ceremonials, are apt to know the old dances and songs, but seem to feel that these things are pointless or merely a means of making a living. They have been living in an unstable, changing society since birth and follow along in the uncertain Indian-white pattern of culture with no particular ambitions or interests in what it may eventually produce in their own futures.

The young people from Nebraska contrasted strongly with those of Wisconsin in this respect, being generally more progressive and better educated; but it would be unreasonable to infer that this is a typical difference between the Wisconsin and Nebraska Winnebago since the representation of the Nebraska Indians in our group was so small. [184]

Many of the older people, on the other hand, can remember when the Winnebago retained enough of their original culture to have a fairly complete and working social organization. They blame all the misfortunes of the tribe on the young people, who according to the old people, do just as they please in matters of morals, ethics and religion, and they furthermore have no respect for the opinions of the older mem-

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 bers of the tribe. The older generation does not generally
182 try to resist the change, nor encourage it, but rather the tendency
561 is to mourn the past. A few realize that the unhappy plight of the younger generation is but one of the many changes in their society brought on by the breakdown of tribal organization due to contact with white religion, liquor, and government.

[861] Originally the training of the young was in the hands of
[626] the elders of the tribe and rules were put into effect by group controls; whereas now these controls have gone, and it is only in recent years and only among a few families that the idea of parental control is stressed in the same manner as in white society.

Consequently we have the picture of a younger generation following their particular whims and an older generation seeing the wrongs of such a situation but feeling powerless to relieve it.

Types of Cultural Change

178 Having become acquainted with the attitudes of members of a changing society, let us consider cultural change itself. For purposes of simplification we can break down our main heading of cultural change into four types.

1. We are all familiar with the direct Indian-to-white cultural change which is of so long standing, and so obvious that it hardly requires further explanation other than mentioning the Indians' use of white foods, houses, clothing, and the myriad other aspects of white culture which have become a part of the Indians' life.

2. One of the complexities of cultural change is that some customs taken over from the whites remain relatively static in the Indian society, but continue to change at a faster rate in the white group. A good example of this is in the realm of material culture. The women's buckskin dresses were of course long ago exchanged for broadcloth and other fabrics fashioned along Indian styles, but these were later replaced by calico dresses in the last century following the then current

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 191 171 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to assume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cultural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their language. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 535 In considering our four types of social change, we might almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 182 Although we are considering cultural change among the Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group.**

182 551 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winnebago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

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individually bestowed upon members of the conservative group.

The list of old Indian traits still found among the Wisconsin Winnebago could be extended at great length to include items of diet, clothing, religion, amusements, healing, social organization, and many other aspects of the culture, but of course cannot all be discussed in this article. There is, nevertheless, one final and important feature, and that is that the Indian definitely considers himself a member of a distinct race, and that differences in white and Indian outlook are inherent in the blood rather than due to societal processes.

Conclusion

From observation of current trends and from the reminiscences of informants, it seems safe to conclude that the pattern of change outlined above will be followed in coming years with an ever-increasing tendency of the Winnebago to take on more and more of the aspects of white culture. Naturally changes vary from community to community, but the overall picture of the forms of cultural change seems to hold true.

There is one important point which may affect the Winnebago in unforseen ways, and that is the present war. As far as influencing cultural change today, it is more of a nuisance than an acting force. True the Indians are notably patriotic in the purchase of war bonds, and Indian boys are in all of the fighting forces; but for the most part, except where tragedy strikes individual families, the Indian thinks of the war as apart from his affairs. Some older people still feel strongly about the irony of Indians fighting for a country they themselves already have lost.

There is, of course, the inconvenience of tire and gasoline rationing on a people who lead a semi-nomadic life, but in our group, as far as the writer could ascertain, this did not constitute a great problem.

Many Indians have begun working in defense factories since the outbreak of the war, but even then they manage to stay in fairly isolated groups, as witness the Badger Ordnance Plant,

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where the majority of Indian workers live in a separate camp, and the camp itself is somewhat divided according to the different tribes located there.

However, the war will undoubtedly have its social affect when the Indian soliders return from an existence of strict discipline to the semi-nomadic life of the Winnebago group. Even the veterans present at this summer's cherry camp showed a sense of dissatisfaction and a feeling of estrangement from the society.

In brief summary of the general picture of cultural change; we have wide variations in attitude toward the cultural situation between the older and younger generations in a group representative of many Wisconsin Winnebago communities. In this group, cultural changed in intensity from complete cultural shift of Indian to white traits, to various stages of cultural transition and modification. Finally, there remain a considerable quantity of old Indian traits preserved intact.

From the observation of past and present cultural trends, it appears safe to predict the continuance of now recognized types of cultural change, but we must bear in mind possible future developments brought about by the present war.

As a final note it is important to remark that this study is far from complete, and is but a basis for future research.

The writer would like to thank her Winnebago friends, particularly Mr. John C. Decora of Wittenberg, Mr. Mitchell Redcloud of Merrillan, and Mr. Nat Long of Wausau, who made this article possible.

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and
[778] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.'

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism.

105 575 771 796 of shamanistic practices in the Rite, they could never quite exclude them and the only answer they possessed was to condemn them and show how they led to dishonor, death and destruction.

This interweaving of the concrete and the symbolic and mystical led to a double, at times even a triple, set of significances for every action and word and which, occasionally, reached incredible heights of complication, intricacy and subtlety.

105 174 796 Since no other ceremony resembles the Medicine Rite in the respects just mentioned, we may well stop and ask ourselves what could have led to its creation? What is the cultural meaning of this new mode of expression, this new type of reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and attitudes? Allowing for the natural creative impulses of our Winnebago poet-philosophers, it is not unreasonable to suspect that some particular circumstance or circumstances must have called them forth.

Ordinarily, any attempt to determine such a matter among the American Indians, in the absence of an authentic historic record, would mean mere speculation. Fortunately this does not hold true for the case in point. There are indications within the text of the Rite itself and some historical evidence which proves pretty conclusively that, in its present form, the Medicine Rite is a development late in Winnebago history and after the coming of the French in 1632. We can, in fact, date it more precisely. The otterskin pouch and the shell used in the shooting ceremony come from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. The Winnebago obtained them from the Fox and this could not possibly have been before 1680-1690.

Now, the Winnebago between 1650-1900 were passing through a very serious crisis. Their numbers had been seriously decimated by ferocious struggles between them and the Illinois and Fox and by the diseases introduced by the Europeans. The influence of the French, as well as the new conditions resulting from French encroachment, were playing havoc with the old order of things. Nor must we underrate the influence of the French missionaries.

[182] That a new type of ceremony should have appeared among the Winnebago just then cannot be ascribed to mere chance. It must bear some relation to the crisis. The moment we put the two to-

gether much that would otherwise remain inexplicable about the Medicine Rite becomes clear—its nostalgia for the past, the idealistic and idyllic setting, the absence of any reference to war, the insistent condemnation of shamanistic practices. We can then see it for what it is, the attempt of the priest-poet-philosopher to meet the new and hitherto unknown threats to the old way of life by demonstrating, first, what merit and virtue inhered in the Winnebago civilization of the past and, secondly, by showing how it could be recovered and safeguarded against all outside attacks. The creators of this ritual-drama were concerned only with the description of the Road of Perfection, a road that was to lead the Winnebago back to the past and then forward again. Only if we fully realize that we are not dealing here simply with the inward vision of some poet-philosopher but with the spiritual crisis of a people will we be able to explain the burning intensity that animates the participants.

But, let us forget for the moment the fact that the Medicine Rite is of late appearance in Winnebago history and let us forget the crisis that gave it birth and try to assign it its proper place in Winnebago thought.

We saw before how the warrior ideal received its glorification in the warbundle ceremonies. Nothing comparable to such a eulogy of war and of the warrior's viewpoint existed for the other half of Winnebago life, for the arts of peace. Indications that it was attempted are innumerable but these attempts seem never to have succeeded to any marked degree.

And so the Winnebago, apparently, had to wait until late in their history, until a crisis of major proportions was threatening to disrupt their whole culture, before the ideal which had always been expressed in the symbol of the chief of the tribe could find its full and adequate expression in the present Medicine Rite. That this expression came so late in their history must not obscure the fact that it represents part of a very old struggle between two aspects of Winnebago life that had always been seeking a resolution. It is not only in Winnebago history that a philosophical-ethical ideal has received its highest expression in the midst of a social-economic crisis, as I need hardly point out.

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Whether, before the coming of the Whites, other crises of equal intensity had ever threatened the security of Winnebago life we do not, of course, know. What we do know, however, is that before Winnebago civilization finally broke up and disintegrated completely, about twenty years ago, a religion of a new type essayed the same task that the Medicine Rite had undertaken and developed a ritual of considerable beauty with a quality all its own. I am, of course, referring to the Peyote Cult.

6. THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICINE RITE

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The Medicine Rite is clearly the product of a long development. For proof of this we have not only direct historical evidence but fairly convincing internal evidence. I have already called attention to the fact that the otterskin pouch, the shell and, in fact, much of the whole present shooting ritual stems originally from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. We know that they are the originators of it and that it spread from them to the Pottawattomie, Menominee and Fox and then to the eastern Dakota and Iowa. The eastern Dakota already had it in 1765. The Winnebago were brought into contact with it by the Fox and the Iowa. We must assume that this could not possibly have been earlier than 1690 and, far more likely, it was later, anywhere between 1710 and 1730. To judge from its present form and content, nothing else was borrowed than the shooting ritual and its appurtenances, apart from a number of songs, at least, from the linguistically and culturally distinct Fox. More was probably borrowed from the linguistically and culturally closely related Iowa.

Two introductory narratives (pages 92 f. and 94 f.) profess to tell how some of the pouches were obtained but they can hardly be accepted as too accurate. In so far as any credence can be placed on what they say, it would appear that they were presented to two Winnebago, whose names are given. No mention, however, is made by the givers of these gifts, one an Iowa and the other a Fox Indian, of their be-

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